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Source: *Pacific Historical Review*, Vol. 82, No. 3 (August 2013), pp. 362-395

Published by: [University of California Press](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1525/phr.2013.82.3.362>

Accessed: 22/06/2014 02:36

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# Sowing Discontent: The 1921 Alien Land Act in New Mexico

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*In 1921 New Mexicans approved a constitutional amendment that prohibited “aliens ineligible for citizenship” from owning land in the state. Reflecting the post-World War I nationalistic fervor and its racialization of “Americanism,” the amendment targeted the state’s tiny Japanese population, partly under pressure from institutions like the Farm Bureau, the American Legion, and even the Ku Klux Klan. While some Hispanos (or Nuevomexicanos) benefited by claiming an exclusionary “Spanish American” identity, others had worked alongside and intermarried with Japanese immigrants. Yet, although some predominantly Nuevomexicano counties rejected the amendment, many Nuevomexicanos joined with their Anglo neighbors to enact this discriminatory policy, ostensibly on the grounds of protecting the state from a huge influx of foreign farmers who would displace the state’s real citizens. The discriminatory language remained in the constitution until 2006.*

**Key words:** *Nuevomexicanos, Japanese immigrants, racial discrimination, citizenship, Alien Land Laws*

In November 2002 the voters of New Mexico were asked to amend their state constitution to rid it of a remnant of prejudice that had lain hidden in its pages for decades. The clause in question, Section 22 of Article 2, barred “aliens ineligible for citizenship” from purchasing land in New Mexico. These ineligible aliens were neither foreign terrorists nor the undocumented workers then so often in the news but rather Japanese immigrants. Between 1913 and the 1920s, in an environment in which Japanese immigrants were labeled culturally unassimilable, state legislatures throughout

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The author thanks the Arts and Sciences Deans’ Office at New Mexico State University (NMSU) for a mini-grant to fund this project and the staffs of the Center for Southwest Research at the University of New Mexico, the New Mexico State Archives and Research Center in Santa Fe, and the Archives and Special Collections of the NMSU Library for research assistance. She extends special thanks to Elvira Hammond for reading an early draft of the article, to Mark Walker for his help with the chart, and to the anonymous referees for the *Pacific Historical Review*, whose comments and suggestions were instrumental in improving the work.

*Pacific Historical Review*, Vol. 82, No. 3, pages 362–395. ISSN 0030-8684

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the West excluded first-generation Japanese immigrants (Issei) from landholding by passing Alien Land Acts. Despite the fact that in 1920 only 251 Issei made their homes in New Mexico, New Mexico's legislators joined those states. After being approved first by a unanimous vote in the state senate and then by a popular vote statewide, as the state constitution required, the Alien Land Act became a constitutional amendment in 1921.<sup>1</sup>

As this article will show, the impetus to exclude Japanese from property ownership in New Mexico originated in Doña Ana County, along the Mexican border, among Anglo American truck farmers who resented having to compete with a handful of successful Japanese farmers. Once on the state legislative agenda, restricting Japanese from owning land harmonized with the racially exclusionary "100 percent Americanism" of the 1920s, anti-Asian propaganda emanating from California, and the long-standing New Mexican agenda to establish the territory and state as recognizably American. Although Hispano New Mexicans had long experienced racial "othering" by Anglo Americans inside and outside the state, and although they did not form a monolithic voting bloc in favor of Amendment 2, their support of the amendment was crucial to its inclusion in the New Mexico Constitution.<sup>2</sup> Finally, while some Japanese American families found acceptance within their communities and put down enduring roots, the relegation of Issei to an inferior category by the New Mexico Constitution helped to perpetuate opposition to Japanese American settlement in the state through the end of World War II. It also perpetuated the notion that whiteness ought

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1. The Alien Land Act prohibited any aliens ineligible for citizenship from landholding. This category also included people from China and some other areas of Asia, but within New Mexico the discourse motivating the law's passage focused exclusively on the threat posed by Japanese immigrants.

2. Throughout this article, I use the terms Anglo Americans or Anglos to refer to English-speakers of European, but not Spanish, descent. These are the terms widely used in New Mexico to refer to this diverse group of people. I use the terms Hispano and Nuevomexicano to refer to those New Mexicans who considered themselves to be of Spanish or Mexican descent, and Mexican American to refer only to those who considered themselves to be of Mexican descent. As historian John Nieto-Phillips has pointed out, those who considered themselves to be of Spanish rather than Mexican descent lived mainly in northern New Mexico. See John M. Nieto-Phillips, *The Language of Blood: The Making of Spanish-American Identity in New Mexico, 1880s–1930s* (Albuquerque, 2004). In 1916, Hispano New Mexicans constituted a slight majority of the voting population. See Richard Lowitt, "Bronson Cutting and the Early Years of the American Legion in New Mexico," *New Mexico Historical Review*, 64, no. 2 (1989), 143–158.

to be a necessary condition for citizenship—a notion that also underlay discriminatory treatment of Mexican immigrants by the end of the 1920s.

The 1921 Alien Land Act in New Mexico followed two national legal trajectories. The first enabled states to prevent aliens from possessing land within their borders; the second closed off Japanese eligibility for citizenship. As many scholars of American immigration have pointed out, the 1790 Naturalization Act restricted citizenship to those immigrants who were free and white; after the Civil War, people of African descent were explicitly included as eligible. Despite the fact that many Japanese immigrants took actions that could be considered evidence of assimilation—speaking English, converting to Christianity, wearing western clothes, farming—they and other Asian immigrants were legislatively marginalized. The 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act, Executive Order EO-589 (1907), which prohibited Asian immigration from Hawai'i to the mainland, and the 1907 "Gentlemen's Agreement," which prohibited laborers from migrating from Japan to the United States, all added to the body of exclusionary law. In 1917 the United States designated an "Asiatic Barred Zone," an Asian no-immigration area extending as far west as Russia. Even before the 1924 Naturalization Act created the notion of "illegal alienage," Japanese and other Asian migrants occupied a position similar to illegal alienage. They resided in the land but at the same time were permanently excluded from its social fabric. Only Japan's status as a modern military power, as well as its government's willingness to threaten war, acted as a buffer against the worst treatment.<sup>3</sup>

While some Japanese migrants became naturalized by passing as white or claiming to be white, the parameters of the racial requirement for citizenship were finally challenged in 1922. In that year, the Supreme Court case of *Takao Ozawa v. United States* forced a decision about the formal racial status of Japanese immigrants. Were such immigrants unassimilable because of something in their blood, or something in their culture? Except for the accident of his birthplace, Takao Ozawa had the makings of a model citizen. He

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3. Natsu Taylor Saito, "Alien and Non-Alien Alike: Citizenship, 'Foreignness,' and Racial Hierarchy in American Law," *University of Oregon Law Review*, 76 (1997), 261–344; Hyung-Chan Kim, *A Legal History of Asian Americans, 1790–1990* (Westport, Conn., 1994), esp. 7, 113. Mae Ngai, *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America* (Princeton, N.J., 2004), 37–39.

had lived in the United States for twenty years and even acquired three years of education at the University of California at Berkeley. He argued that he and his fellow Japanese immigrants were not only culturally “white,” having demonstrated a commitment to American values, but also phenotypically white: Their skin was white rather than yellow. The Supreme Court rejected this novel argument, ruling that, whatever the ambiguous term “white” was taken to mean—whether whiteness was determined by popular opinion or by theories of historical origins of peoples—Japanese remained on the wrong side of the line of demarcation.<sup>4</sup>

In 1923 the case of *Hidemitsu Toyota v. United States* solidified the Court's position that whiteness could only be a racial category and that this category excluded Japanese. Toyota, a Coast Guard veteran, had lived in the United States since 1907 and served in World War I; he was naturalized through a program by which the government promised citizenship to aliens who served in the U.S. armed forces. Despite this promise, the Supreme Court ruled that Toyota's citizenship should be revoked, because the war-time statute had never been intended to apply to immigrants from Japan. His citizenship was revoked, despite the fact that he had been a U.S. citizen for four years.<sup>5</sup>

The second historical trajectory leading to New Mexico's Alien Land Act of 1921 was the long-standing policy that states could bar aliens from purchasing or inheriting land. For example, some states barred wealthy British cattle magnates from buying tracts or prevented alien heirs from inheriting land from U.S. citizens. Some scholars have argued that these pre-twentieth-century restrictions were facially neutral.<sup>6</sup> For instance, as legal scholar Polly Price

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4. On the distinction between “formal race” and “historical race,” see Neil Gotanda, “A Critique of ‘Our Constitution is Color-Blind,’” in Kimberlé Crenshaw, Neil Gotanda, Garry Peller, and Kendall Thomas, eds., *Critical Race Theory: The Key Writings that Formed the Movement* (New York, 1995), 257–275, and Linda K. Kerber, “The Meanings of Citizenship,” *Journal of American History*, 84 (1997), 833–854. As David Roediger pointed out, the clarification of “not-white” in the *Ozawa* and *Thind* cases helped to expand the definition of “white” to include previously in-between groups like Southern and Eastern European migrants. See David Roediger, *Working toward Whiteness: How America's Immigrants Became White* (New York, 2005), 62.

5. M. Browning Carrott, “Prejudice Goes to Court: The Japanese and the Supreme Court in the 1920s,” *California History*, 62, no. 2 (1983), 122–138; Catheryn Seckler-Hudson, *Statelessness: With Special Reference to the United States* (Washington, D.C., 1934), 170–171.

6. Polly J. Price, “Alien Land Restrictions in the American Common Law: Exploring the Relative Autonomy Paradigm,” *American Journal of Legal History*, 43 (1999), 152–208;

noted, "These same exclusions also affected a vast number of white immigrants, and for landholding purposes were essentially egalitarian in their operation, with the important caveat that only white immigrants had the opportunity to become naturalized citizens."<sup>7</sup> But by the twentieth century, as Asians were relegated to the category "ineligible for citizenship," any facial neutrality disappeared.

The Alien Land Acts of the twentieth century built on the legacy of anti-Asian racism, particularly in California, where the Chinese had long been seen as competitors for low-wage employment. In signing the Gentlemen's Agreement, the U.S. and Japanese governments had jointly agreed to winnow laborers from the pool of applicants for immigration, but this did not prevent Japanese migrants from competing as farmers.<sup>8</sup> Many Japanese immigrants took up farmland in California through land-purchasing companies or planned settlements, working for commission merchants who advanced them the supplies needed to grow their crops. California's Japanese immigrants were economically productive and politically organized, lobbying on their own behalf through Japanese Associations and using the diplomatic force of the Japanese government to attempt to maintain civil treatment.<sup>9</sup>

In 1913 the California legislature passed the Heney-Webb Act, barring Issei from purchasing land, either singly or through companies, and from contracting leases longer than three years.<sup>10</sup> When Issei found ways to evade the letter of the law, a second law (1920) addressed such loopholes. Eventually, ten western states passed laws intended either to exclude Japanese from farming entirely or to

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Douglas W. Nelson, "The Alien Land Law Movement of the Late Nineteenth Century," *Journal of the West*, 9, no. 1 (1970), 46–59. A facially neutral restriction is one that does not appear, on its face, to be directed at a particular racial group.

7. Price, "Alien Land Restrictions," 200.

8. On anti-Japanese sentiment among American union workers, see Yuji Ichioka, *The Issei: The World of the First Generation Japanese Immigrants, 1885–1924* (London, 1988), 137. The Gentlemen's Agreement banned migration to the United States of any Japanese person not already domiciled in the United States, with family in the United States, or having an existing interest in a piece of land located in the United States. See Kim, *A Legal History of Asian Americans*, 102.

9. Ichioka, *The Issei*, 154–157; Yuji Ichioka, "Japanese Associations and the Japanese Government: A Special Relationship, 1909–1926," *Pacific Historical Review*, 46 (1977), 409–437.

10. Yuji Ichioka, "Japanese Immigrant Response to the 1920 California Alien Land Law," *Agricultural History*, 58 (1984), 157–178.

convert Japanese from owners, renters, share-tenants, and sharecroppers into wage laborers.<sup>11</sup>

Although the Japanese Agricultural Association raised funds to test these laws in court, they were consistently disappointed in the results. By 1921 even sharecropping agreements, whereby Issei became employees of Anglo landowners in exchange for a share of the crop, had been judged illegal. The Supreme Court noted that "the quality and allegiance of those who own, occupy and use the farm lands within [a state's] borders are matters of highest importance and affect the safety and power of the state itself." Issei could still buy land in the names of their minor children and then appoint themselves guardians of those children, since the Supreme Court had ruled that guardianship bore no reasonable legal relationship to citizenship.<sup>12</sup> But Issei themselves were completely shut out of both landholding and land-leasing.

Some Issei worked as wage laborers or managed farms for sympathetic American-born farmers who secretly kept two sets of books. Japanese immigrants also formed land companies that served as the clearinghouses for Japanese landownership; as long as the companies were run by American-born Japanese or other Americans, there was no legal problem. Forced to operate under the table, Issei would-be farmers could be blackmailed by the unscrupulous. When native-born Americans of Japanese parentage (Nisei) attained the age of majority, any land transaction that they undertook with Issei could be interpreted as a criminal conspiracy. In California, the number of acres of land under Japanese cultivation dropped sharply after 1920, and some Japanese considered "self-deportation," although few actually left the state.<sup>13</sup> The Alien Land Acts demonstrated that freedom of contract, so often professed to be sacrosanct,

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11. Ichioka, *The Issei*, 163; John A. Gothberg, "Press Reaction to Japanese Land Ownership in California," *Journalism Quarterly*, 47 (1970), 667–672. On the Alien Land Law in Oregon, see Daniel P. Johnson, "Anti-Japanese Legislation in Oregon, 1917–1923," *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, 97 (1996), 176–210.

12. Keith Aoki, "No Right to Own? The Early Twentieth-Century 'Alien Land Laws' as a Prelude to Internment," *Boston College Law Review*, 40 (1998), 62; Carrott, "Prejudice Goes to Court," 134; Ichioka, *The Issei*, 230–232.

13. Masao Suzuki, "Important or Impotent? Taking Another Look at the 1920 Alien Land Law," *Journal of Economic History*, 64 (2004), 125–143. The term "self-deportation," having been coined in this context in the 1990s, was not used at the time. See William Safire, "Essay, Self-Deportation?" *New York Times*, Nov. 21, 1994, available online at [www.nytimes.com/1994/11/21/opinion/essay-self-deportation.html](http://www.nytimes.com/1994/11/21/opinion/essay-self-deportation.html), accessed May 13, 2013.

was shaped by constructions of race; Japanese and other Asians were thought unfit even for the supposedly assimilating force of landownership.<sup>14</sup>

### Anti-Asian agitation begins in the Mesilla Valley

In contrast to California, New Mexico was home to few Japanese immigrants, and most of those worked in industries other than farming. Nonetheless, anti-Japanese agitation began where Japanese, Anglo, and Mexican American farmers competed—in the Mesilla Valley, a mixed-farming region in southern New Mexico. As historian Anthony Mora has documented, the Mesilla Valley had been a site of contestation since the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848) divided the valley into Mexican and American settlements. The Rio Grande marked the border; those who chose to retain their Mexican citizenship moved to Mesilla and points south, until the United States acquired that territory six years later in the Gadsden Purchase. Despite the political integration of the Mesilla Valley into the United States, the region retained a “Mexican” identity; spheres of life as various as urban geography, politics, and church administration all became areas in which struggles over language and nationalism played out.<sup>15</sup>

In the early twentieth century, farmers in the Mesilla Valley cultivated farms of an average size of sixty acres, mostly using human labor and horses, rather than tractors, growing diversified crops, including corn, vegetables, fruit, cotton, and alfalfa, and keeping cows and chickens.<sup>16</sup> The Elephant Butte Irrigation District (EBID) dammed the Rio Grande in 1916 and provided irrigation water under the supervision of the U.S. Reclamation Service. Reliable water supplies greatly improved the ability to farm, but the project embroiled the valley’s farmers in lawsuits and levies incurred during struggles over Mexican claims to water rights. The area’s struggling farmers objected to paying off the construction of the Elephant

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14. That personal landownership was thought to be a force for assimilation is clear from the Dawes Severalty Act (1887), which offered homesteads to those Native Americans willing to be severed from their tribes.

15. Anthony Mora, *Border Dilemmas: Racial and National Uncertainties in New Mexico, 1848–1912* (Durham, N.C., 2011), 7, 96, 133–134.

16. Elephant Butte Irrigation District, *Economic Survey and Conference* (Las Cruces, N.M., 1927), 309, 397.

Butte Dam and the improvement of the irrigation laterals that brought the water to each farm.<sup>17</sup>

Japanese farmers who began migrating to the Mesilla Valley in the late 1910s provided a convenient scapegoat for other farmers' troubles. Although they were often depicted in the press as deliberate invaders, Carl Nakayama, son of one of the pioneer Japanese families, recalled that his family settled in the valley by accident. They had been on their way to Texas, but his mother became ill in El Paso, and so the family settled in southern New Mexico, cultivating 300 acres of Rocky Ford cantaloupes along with other crops.<sup>18</sup> In the census of 1920, of the forty-five Japanese people living in the Mesilla Valley, thirteen were living and working on the 600-acre alfalfa farm owned by Oscar Snow, known locally as the "alfalfa king."<sup>19</sup> Others were scattered around the county, from Chamberino in the south to Doña Ana in the north. As they were in other places, southern New Mexico's Issei were adventurous farmers who succeeded in diversifying their crops by using intensive farming techniques.<sup>20</sup>

Those opposed to Japanese immigration could rely on existing media and organizations to promote their cause. The Doña Ana County Farm Bureau—the first in the state—had been formed May 1917 by a cadre of politically influential Anglo American farmers and their wives. Within a month, the organization began publishing its own newspaper, *Organized Farming*, which encouraged the farmers to lobby the state for their mutual benefit. At first, the Farm Bureau did not take an anti-Japanese stance; in fact, the editor noted with

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17. See, for example, Nathan Boyd, *In the Department of State in Re the Elephant Butte Dam Affair* (n.p., 1922). The Elephant Butte Irrigation District (EBID) system replaced the long-standing system of community ditches. See J. W. Taylor to Wells A. Hutchins, May 21, 1926, in folder 10, box 54, MSS 235, EBID Correspondence, General, H, Rio Grande Historical Collection, Las Cruces, N.M. [hereafter Rio Grande Collection]. "Project Cost Announced," *Organized Farming* (Las Cruces, N.M.), Jan. 1921, p. 1; H. H. Brook, *Handbook of Information of Elephant Butte Irrigation District for Calendar Year 1920* (Las Cruces, N.M., 1920), 60. Irrigation laterals are the permanent channels that direct water from a water source to the area to be watered.

18. Carl Nakayama, quoted in Masakazu Iwata, *Planted in Good Soil: The History of the Issei in United States Agriculture* (2 vols., New York, 1992), 2: 704.

19. Calculated from the 1920 Federal Census. On Oscar Snow, see *Report of the Governor of New Mexico to the Secretary of the Interior* (Washington, D.C., 1903), 43.

20. Emmanuel Vocale, oral history interview (1997–2001), RG2000-6, New Mexico Farm and Ranch Heritage Museum Prisoners of War, in New Mexico Agriculture Oral History Project, MS 0411, Rio Grande Collection, 66; Andrew B. Russell, "Japanese Americans in New Mexico," *Enduring Communities*, online at media.janm.org/projects/ec/pdf/EC-NM-Essay-Timeline.pdf, accessed June 6, 2012.

approval that four Japanese farmers had donated between 5,000 and 7,000 cantaloupes for the local Farmers' Day celebration. Under the pressure of war-time's exaggerated nationalism and the first Red Scare, however, the editor of *Organized Farming*, George Clark, began to crusade against Japanese landownership. He argued that landownership, long a crucial prop of American ideology, was a way of professing patriotism and ought to be limited to citizens: "The soil is the foundation of everything: race, family, citizenship, thrift, prosperity, patriotism, success in peace and security in war."<sup>21</sup>

The *Rio Grande Republic*, the local newspaper of Las Cruces, cited a long string of objections to Japanese immigration, some of which twisted virtues into vices. The *Republic* called Japanese farmers excellent agriculturalists and hard workers but simultaneously alleged that they would depress the local standard of living by being willing to live simply and employ all of their family members in hard labor. Japanese themselves were aware of this stereotype: In Los Angeles in 1919, the Japanese Association had banned Sunday fieldwork in an attempt to cater to American sensibilities about the Sabbath. As legal scholar Natsu Taylor Saito wrote, "Hardworking and industrious becomes unfairly competitive; family-oriented becomes clannish; mysterious becomes inscrutable."<sup>22</sup> In other states along the border, criticisms similar to those aimed at Japanese had been directed at Mexican immigrants.<sup>23</sup>

Doña Ana County's exclusionist voices focused on threats to religion and to family structure. Japanese were not Christian, the *Republic* alleged, and a country with Japanese migrants would be "half Christian and half pagan." The *Republic's* editors, S. E. and David Bronson, hinted darkly at the possibility of racial mixing, noting that local daughters would be "obliged to meet socially the yellow man from Asia." The Japanese language would become one of a Babel of tongues taught in American schools. The American woman would find her condition depressed to the subservient status

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21. "Birth of the Farm Bureau," *Organized Farming*, June 1917, p. 5; "Farm Bureau Day at the Farmers Fair," in *ibid.*, Sept. 1917, p. 2. "When the Japanese Come—the Whites Go," in *ibid.*, Sept.–Oct. 1919, p. 4.

22. "White vs. Yellow et al," *Rio Grande Republic* (Las Cruces), Oct. 3, 1919, p. 1; Francis Feeley, "A Legacy of Injustice: The West Coast Japanese before World War II," *Journal of the West*, 32, no. 4 (1993), 83–91; Saito, "Alien and Non-Alien Alike," 297.

23. Clare Sheridan, "Contested Citizenship: National Identity and the Mexican Immigration Debates of the 1920s," *Journal of American Ethnic History*, 21, no. 3 (2002), 3–35.

of an Asian wife. Mesilla Valley farmers objected to the practice of sending to Japan for "picture brides," young women who married their husbands through a bureaucratic process in Japan but did not meet them until reaching the United States.<sup>24</sup> The farmers argued that large Japanese families would outnumber whites and push them out of the Southwest. The editors of the *Rio Grande Republic* suggested that the Fourteenth Amendment be altered so that babies born in the United States would not have birthright citizenship if their parents were aliens ineligible to become citizens.<sup>25</sup>

Farmer Ben Shimada appealed to his Mesilla Valley neighbors in the *Las Cruces Citizen*, his comments appearing under the heading "Jap Answers Back." "In behalf [*sic*] of the Japanese let me appeal to the broadminded people of the valley to recognize their big economical factor in making a greater Rio Grande Valley and not to allow them to suffer humiliation and hardships at the hands of those who have personal grudges against them."<sup>26</sup> Shimada's appeal was poignant but futile. In November 1919, the Doña Ana County Farm Bureau banned aliens ineligible for American citizenship from its ranks. Its farmers warned that the "little Yellow man of Asia" was about to take not only the profit but also the credit for the valley's successes. "Jap methods to the Japs," the farmers insisted. The bureau proposed pre-contracting with the fruit buyers, just as Japanese had been doing in Rocky Ford, Colorado, in order to marginalize Japanese production. The Farm Bureau also announced that it would petition the state government to prevent Japanese from owning property in New Mexico.<sup>27</sup>

William Turner Scoggin, who had migrated to New Mexico from Arkansas, was consistently the ringleader of the anti-Japanese protest. A member of the Doña Ana County Farm Bureau and EBID's board

24. "White vs. Yellow et al," 1. On the practice of obtaining picture brides, see Ichioka, *The Issei*, 167–173.

25. "When the Japanese Come—the Whites Go," 4; "The Japanese in California," *Rio Grande Republic*, Oct. 10, 1919, p. 1. The question of whether U.S.-born children of Asian-alien parents should be entitled to birthright citizenship was explicitly addressed, and the right affirmed, in *United States v. Wong Kim Ark*, 169 U.S. 649 (1898).

26. Quoted in Jane Loy O'Cain, "Two Families' Stories of the Japanese-American Experience in the Mesilla Valley: 1915–1945," *Southern New Mexico Historical Review*, 5 (1998), 26–33.

27. "White, Yellow or Mixed," *Rio Grande Republic*, Nov. 14, 1919, p. 1; "Anti-Jap Resolutions Proposed by Farmers," in *ibid.*, Oct. 17, 1919, p. 1; "Farm Bureau Directors Meet," *Organized Farming*, Sept.–Oct. 1919, p. 5.

of directors, Scoggin swore to boycott any shipping company or retail outlet that did business with a Japanese family or dealt in Japanese produce. "Everything that makes life worthwhile is at stake," he insisted. He noted that while commission companies had been in the habit of advancing farmers money for seed, they had resolved not to do so in the future. Scoggin alleged that, while Anglo farmers would suffer by this new practice, Japanese farmers always had the necessary funds and could do without the advances. When the cantaloupe crop in the Mesilla Valley came in ten days late, causing farmers to reap a smaller profit than usual, even as the costs of production, including icing and boxes, had increased, Scoggin blamed Japanese immigrants, who "flooded in and planted the crop heavily right at the time when Americans were discouraged and thus secured their foothold." For Scoggin, the stakes were enormous: "We must not acknowledge that the Japanese are a superior race. We must fight them with every weapon available."<sup>28</sup>

Although the campaigners against Japanese landownership were dedicated, they initially had trouble convincing their neighbors to make the issue a priority. The *Rio Grande Republic's* editors were disturbed by the "equanimity" with which the community viewed Japanese immigration. They hammered home the idea that the Japanese farmer was unassimilable, "in fact has no interest whatever in our national life or aspirations. . . . He can never become Americanized in a thousand years. . . . He can never become white, he can never become a fit companion for American children in the school. He is not immoral, he is unmoral."<sup>29</sup> The elision of "Americanized" and "white" here illustrates the extent to which American identity had become racialized in a way that no amount of public education, religious conversion, or patriotism could erase.<sup>30</sup> As Japanese residents of Colorado left that state and came to New Mexico under the pressure of organized persecution, anti-Japanese farmers in the latter urged their neighbors not to try to save money in the short run by hiring Japanese

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28. "America for Americans," *Rio Grande Republic*, Oct. 7, 1920, p. 1; "Will Not Pay Advances," in *ibid.*, Jan. 13, 1921. See also "Marketing Ass'n Holds Meeting," in *ibid.*, Jan. 20, 1921; W. T. Scoggin, "How can we win out with cantaloupes?" *Organized Farming*, Oct. 1920, p. 5; Scoggin, "W. T. Scoggin Depicts Menace of Jap Immigration," *Rio Grande Republic*, Oct. 28, 1920, p. 1.

29. "Anti-Jap Movement Gains Headway at Rocky Ford," in *ibid.*, Jan. 15, 1920, p. 2.

30. On racialized grouping, see Christopher Newfield and Avery F. Gordon, "Multiculturalism's Unfinished Business," in Newfield and Gordon, eds., *Mapping Multiculturalism* (Minneapolis, 1996), 76–115.

laborers: "It's a poor citizen who doesn't look ahead." In the Philippines, Japanese had been allowed to proliferate, taking land away from "Americans and others of white blood who are unable to compete." From the perspective of the editors of the *Rio Grande Republic*, Chinese and Japanese migrants were indistinguishable. "One nation is as yellow as the other," one editor noted, quoting a local farmer who had complained that "Every time I come to town, I see a new bunch of Japs." The editor opined that the Japanese government had neither the zest nor the aptitude for "a real ding dong war" with the United States and that the U.S. government thus ought to take a firmer hand.<sup>31</sup>

By the autumn of 1920, Anglo farmers of the Mesilla Valley had begun to take steps to exclude Japanese. H. H. Brook, the president of the Elephant Butte Irrigation District, called a meeting of businessmen to his house on October 23 to work out a plan to encourage non-Asian immigration into the area. Capt. J. E. Reinburg, the local Republican candidate for state senator, campaigned on the issue. Reinburg, a naval veteran and the father of two sons then serving in the army, farmed in the village of La Union in southern Doña Ana County and had codified the rules for water use in the irrigation district. After the November elections saw a Republican sweep, the editors of the *Rio Grande Republic* pressed readers to bombard their new legislators with petitions calling for legislation to exclude Japanese from purchasing land. They likewise urged the Las Cruces Chamber of Commerce to make an official exclusionary statement. The Doña Ana County Farm Bureau also officially took up the subject of the "Japanese Question."<sup>32</sup>

The Doña Ana County Farm Bureau and the Las Cruces Chamber of Commerce met together on January 15, 1921, and passed a series of resolutions claiming that Japanese were selling below the cost of production in order to eliminate competition and warning that, without action, the Elephant Butte district would fall into the hands of Japanese. They asserted that Japanese would accomplish this because they could "grow two blades of grass for each one that

31. "The Jap Question Again to Front," *Rio Grande Republic*, April 8, 1920, p. 1; "You Can't Arbitrate with International Crooks," in *ibid.*, Sept. 30, 1920, p. 2.

32. H. H. Brook Meeting Notice, Oct. 23, 1920, folder 4, box 34, EBID Decimal System, 1919–30, Notices of Meetings, Board of Directors, Elephant Butte Irrigation District Records, Rio Grande Collection; "J. E. Reinburg for Senate," *Rio Grande Republic*, Sept. 30, 1920, p. 1; "An Appeal for Support," in *ibid.*, Dec. 23, 1920, p. 2; "Tax Question to be Discussed at Meeting," in *ibid.*, Jan. 13, 1921, p. 1.

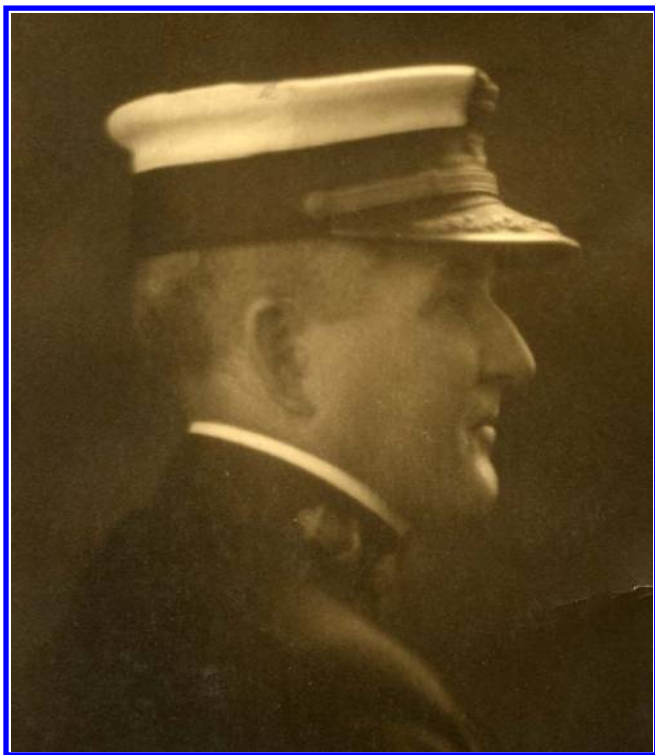


Figure 1. Capt. J. E. Reinburg; from the collection of the Center for Southwest Research, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque.

the white man could grow” and were willing to resort to unfair competition by feeding their families an unreasonably poor diet and working overly long hours. The bureau praised New Mexico’s newly elected governor for understanding the threat posed to the West by “the coolie, the peasant of Japan.”<sup>33</sup>

### The larger context

The New Mexico farmers who felt threatened by the growing economic power of a few Issei migrants and lobbied their state

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33. “Governor Mechem Commended for Stand on Anti-Alien Land Law,” *Organized Farming*, Jan. 1921, p. 12; “Sentiment is Crystallizing against Alien Competition,” *Rio Grande Republic*, Jan. 13, 1921, p. 1. See also Ichioka, *The Issei*, 122. On the long hours worked by Japanese farming families, see Ronald Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore: A History of Asian Americans* (Boston, 1998), 269–270. “Anti-Alien Law Coming,” *Rio Grande Republic*, Jan. 20, 1921, p. 1.

government for legislation to prohibit Japanese landownership acted in a larger context. Nationally, the movement to promote "100 percent Americanism" primed the voting public to fear and exclude foreigners and those construed as non-white. In New Mexico, this process was even more complicated, since groups of Anglo and Hispano New Mexicans jockeyed for political power against each other. Some Hispanos identified as "Spanish American"—that is, as white Europeans who were descended from the proud conquistadors.<sup>34</sup> But the Hispano community was itself divided: by class, by region of the state, and by perceived degree of whiteness. Even as group identities were in flux and as English- and Spanish-speakers contended against each other for power, the state branded itself as a site of peaceful tricultural coexistence among Anglo Americans, Hispanos, and Indians.<sup>35</sup> Significantly, other ethnic groups were not envisioned to have any role.

As World War I ended, strikes and radical bombings precipitated a Red Scare and the deportation of many aliens.<sup>36</sup> Southern New Mexico and West Texas were particularly susceptible to suspicion, since the Mexican Revolution of 1910 had lashed the borderlands with waves of cross-border violence, including two raids on the United States and the deaths of many Americans. The Mexican Revolution also precipitated greater Mexican immigration to the U.S. side of the border. Although Mexicans had previously been thought of as essential to low-wage labor along the border because Anglos perceived them as docile and uncompetitive, now they became part of the threatening and undifferentiated masses that were excluded from "100 percent Americanism."<sup>37</sup> The Zimmermann Telegram—a vaunted German offer to help Mexico win back the Southwest in return for a war-time alliance—suggested that Mexican immigrants might be seditious. The situation worsened with the passage of the Volstead Act in 1919; Americans prohibited from buying alcohol in the United States flooded into Juárez, which was

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34. Linda C. Noel, "‘I am an American’: Anglos, Mexicans, *Nativos*, and the National Debate over Arizona and New Mexico Statehood," *Pacific Historical Review*, 80 (2011), 430–467.

35. Mora, *Border Dilemmas*, 2, 187–189.

36. John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860–1925* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1955), 264–299; Beverly Gage, *The Day Wall Street Exploded: A Story of America in its First Age of Terror* (New York, 2009).

37. Sheridan, "Contested Citizenship," 15; Shawn Lay, *War, Revolution, and the Ku Klux Klan: A Study of Intolerance in a Border City* (El Paso, Tex., 1985); Mora, *Border Dilemmas*, 213.

heralded as the vice capital of the area, with streets full of bars and prostitutes, gambling and drug dens.<sup>38</sup>

Both Anglo and Hispano New Mexicans joined groups to prove their nationalistic *bona fides*. In November 1919, just a month after the *Rio Grande Republic* published the first stirrings of anti-Japanese discontent, the "United American League," calling for "100 percent Americanism," formed a New Mexico branch in Albuquerque. Its officers included Governor Octaviano Larrazolo (ironically, not native-born); Richard H. Hanna, who would run for governor as a Democrat in 1920; and Herbert Bartlett Holt, representing the city of Las Cruces. New Mexicans also joined the American Legion. Spanish-speaking veterans comprised about half of the group's state membership, participated in state-level leadership, and worked to mythologize the contribution of their community to the war effort. American Legion officer Bronson Cutting emphasized that New Mexico's Spanish-heritage members were native-born and that, in New Mexico, "We have no Anti-American propaganda, no Bolshevism, no I.W.W., no disloyalty, and no organized group of foreign-born inhabitants."<sup>39</sup>

Anti-Japanese sentiment also coincided with Ku Klux Klan (KKK) activity along the border. El Paso's Klan advertised itself as a civic fraternal organization, professed the desire to make the city a better, greener place to live, and battled publicly against prostitution, automobile theft, and burglary. In 1922 three Klan members running on a progressive ticket won the local school board election. C. M. Kellogg, "King Kleagle" for the Klan's "realm" in New Mexico, operated out of a headquarters in El Paso.<sup>40</sup>

The campus of the New Mexico College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts in Las Cruces was mysteriously papered with posters reading "KKK" during February and March 1920. The school newspaper, the *Round-Up*, explained that a group calling itself the "Kollege Kactus Karnival" proposed to encourage school spirit by building a giant stone "A" on Tortugas Mountain, which abutted the campus, and holding an annual parade and fun fair. In 1921 KKK-sponsored

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38. Phillip Gonzales and Ann Massman, "Loyalty Questioned: Nuevomexicanos in the Great War," *Pacific Historical Review*, 75 (2006), 629–666; Lay, *War, Revolution, and the Ku Klux Klan*, 62. See also Ngai, *Impossible Subjects*, 52.

39. "100 Per Cent Americans Meet," *Rio Grande Republic*, Nov. 28, 1919, p. 1; Gonzales and Massman, "Loyalty Questioned," 661; Lowitt, "Bronson Cutting," 152.

40. Lay, *War, Revolution, and the Ku Klux Klan*, 10, 69.

activities included a parade presided over by a student dressed as a war profiteer, who sat on an easy chair and threw beans to the crowd, and carnival games including “drown the nigger.”<sup>41</sup>

In October 1921 the Grand Master of the New Mexico Masons noted that the Klan had been recruiting extensively among the Masons of greater Las Cruces. The Klan courted American Legion members as well and plastered placards throughout the downtown business district. C. F. Knight, president of the Las Cruces Chamber of Commerce, reported receiving a late-night phone call inviting him to a Klan meeting. But even as the *Rio Grande Republic* publicly boasted that the “Klan Will Not Organize Here,” the chamber of commerce announced that it was forming a new group called “Keep Kruces Klean.”<sup>42</sup> Nor was Doña Ana County the only place where New Mexicans flirted with or openly embraced Klan membership; Tucumcari and Deming were also reported to have klaverns.<sup>43</sup>

Hispano New Mexicans had their own form of nativism, rooted in a sense of place, of history, and of racial exclusivity. Particularly in the state's north, writers took pride in having their “Spanish American” status recognized by immigration law and the U.S. census.<sup>44</sup> Even those who knew that they had some Native American heritage could claim Spanish identity, using invented family histories, wealth, or light skin color.<sup>45</sup> Between 1880 and 1920, as waves of Anglo Americans migrated into New Mexico, Hispano community leaders celebrated the Spanish language and the history of imperial Spain, while still emphasizing the importance of learning English, embracing

41. “A May Day Carnival,” *Rio Grande Republic*, April 8, 1920, p. 1; “Two Days are Turned over to Celebration,” in *ibid.*, May 12, 1921, p. 3.

42. Lay, *War, Revolution, and the Ku Klux Klan*, 175–176; “Masonic Grand Master Condemns KKK,” *Rio Grande Republic*, Oct. 20, 1921, p. 1; “KKK Order Starts Branch in Las Cruces,” in *ibid.*, Nov. 3, 1921, p. 1; “Klan Will Not Organize Here,” and “Cantaloupe Growers Start Organization to Fight for Lower Freights and Better Returns,” both in *ibid.*, Nov. 10, 1921, p. 1. The *Rio Grande Republic* reported on attempts by outsiders to nurture a klavern in Las Cruces and vociferous denials by the city fathers that the Klan was organizing a klavern.

43. J. W. Green to Judge Harry Pitt Owen, Aug. 20, 1923, folder 219, box 6, Ku Klux Klan, 1923, Governor James Hinkle Papers, New Mexico State Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe [hereafter New Mexico State Archives].

44. Noel, “I am an American,” 444; Ngai, *Impossible Subjects*, 54, 132; Michael Calderón-Zaks, “Debated Whiteness Amid World Events: Mexican and Mexican American Subjectivity and the U.S.’ relationship with the Americas, 1924–1936,” *Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos*, 27 (2011), 325–359.

45. Nieto-Phillips, *The Language of Blood*, 53, 133.

modern technology, and supporting public education. When New Mexico statehood was approved in 1912, the state's Hispano voters approved a constitutional provision that guaranteed Spanish-heritage children the right to receive education in Spanish.<sup>46</sup> Nuevomexicanos attempted to craft a hybrid variant of American nationalism. During World War I, Spanish-language newspapers overflowed with sentimental poetry lauding flag and country; Hispanos participated in "loyalty meetings," bought Liberty Bonds, proudly produced bumper crops for the war effort, and discussed the idea of a Nuevomexicano regiment.<sup>47</sup>

Despite the fact that the "Spanish American" corridor was mostly located around and to the north of Albuquerque, some Las Cruces notables, including hotelier Isidor Armijo, also referred to themselves as Spanish American. Mesilla Valley's anti-Japanese exclusionists catered to this sentiment by referring to southern New Mexico Spanish speakers as "Spanish Americans."<sup>48</sup> They portrayed Spanish speakers as a model minority, whose members knew their place (which was to provide labor, while Anglo Americans provided supervision and tutelage) and sought to assimilate and adopt American values:

The Spanish-American population of the State, and the American, get along very nicely together—one supplies the majority of the labor, the other the bulk of the capital. There is practically no antipathy between them. In fact, some of the former are amongst the most influential and progressive in our state, and the vast majority are no longer Spanish-American, but just plain American, rapidly adopting the standard of living and education of the American, and seeking not to lower the standards, as does the Jap, but to come up to the American standard.<sup>49</sup>

Thus, unlike Japanese foreignness, Nuevomexicano foreignness could be absorbed, assimilated, and forgotten. Whether or not Nuevomexicanos themselves agreed with this rhetorical strategy, its

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46. Doris Meyer, *Speaking for Themselves: Neomexicano Cultural Identity and the Spanish-Language Press, 1880–1920* (Albuquerque, 1996), 117; Nieto-Phillips, *The Language of Blood*, 172.

47. Meyer, *Speaking for Themselves*, 154; Noel, "I am an American," 442; Gonzales and Massman, "Loyalty Questioned," 640–646.

48. Mora, *Border Dilemmas*, 224.

49. "We are Facing a Serious Situation," *Rio Grande Republic*, Oct. 3, 1919, p. 1. On the Mexican American propensity to provide labor in this period, rather than to buy and maintain farms, see Ernesto Galarza, "Mexicans in the Southwest," in Edward Spicer and Raymond H. Thompson, eds., *Plural Society in the Southwest* (New York, 1972), 261–293.

intent was to denigrate Japanese by proposing closer race relations between other groups.<sup>50</sup>

Daily practice partly defines a person's national identity—the way that people are regarded by others with whom they live and work, and by the government entities that interact with them.<sup>51</sup> In southern New Mexico, significant class and ethnic divisions that had marked the area since the nineteenth century continued into the twentieth, but they were not impermeable. Anglo migrants to the area had intermarried with the daughters of prominent Hispano families, producing a well-off class that was ethnically mixed but thoroughly assimilated. On the other hand, the Mesilla Valley also attracted the majority of new immigrants who left Mexico for New Mexico; 71 percent of Doña Ana County voters were Spanish-speaking in 1915.<sup>52</sup>

The limited evidence available suggests that, among working families in the Mesilla Valley, neither prevailing mores nor ineligibility for citizenship prevented Japanese-Mexican marriages. In seven of seventeen Issei families enumerated in the 1920 or 1930 Doña Ana County censuses, the wives were of Mexican or Mexican American descent.<sup>53</sup> Historian Darlis Miller has argued that Mexican American women married Anglo American men because such marriages were thought to promise economic stability, spousal literacy, and the possibility of light-skinned children.<sup>54</sup> But, while marriage to a Japanese man might also promise these benefits, for some Mexican women it also foreclosed the possibility of U.S. citizenship by rendering the women ineligible for citizenship. Under federal law, American women who married foreign men assumed the citizenship status of

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50. On the foreignness of Latinos, see Juan F. Perea, "Los Olvidados: On the Making of Invisible People," *New York University Law Review*, 70 (1995), 965–991. On the notion of a model minority, see Neil Gotanda, "Multiculturalism and Racial Stratification," in Gordon and Newfield, eds., *Mapping Multiculturalism*, 238–252. See also Enid Trucios-Haynes, "The Legacy of Racially Restrictive Immigration Laws and Policies and the Construction of the American National Identity," *University of Oregon Law Review*, 76 (1997), 369–424; Edward H. Spicer, "Plural Society in the Southwest," in Spicer and Thompson, eds., *Plural Society in the Southwest*, 21–76; and Saito, "Alien and Non-Alien Alike," 264.

51. Mora, *Border Dilemmas*, 28.

52. Meyer, *Speaking for Themselves*, 141; Mora, *Border Dilemmas*, 178.

53. Calculated from Census Enumeration Books, Doña Ana County, Federal Census for 1920 and 1930, online at [www.ancestry.com](http://www.ancestry.com), accessed May 30, 2012.

54. Darlis A. Miller, "Cross-Cultural Marriages in the Southwest: The New Mexico Experience, 1846–1900," *New Mexico Historical Review*, 57 (1982), 335–360. On the literacy of Japanese immigrants, see Ronald Takaki, *A Different Mirror: A History of Multicultural America* (Boston, 1993), 248.

their husbands; after the 1922 Cable Act, women married to aliens ineligible for citizenship not only lost their U.S. citizenship but also became ineligible themselves.

Although Japanese families of the Mesilla Valley celebrated the Emperor's birthday and briefly considered forming a language school, they sought to assimilate, wearing western clothing, celebrating the Fourth of July, eating locally traditional food, and sending their children to local churches.<sup>55</sup> Families of Mexican and of Japanese descent were neighbors, and women from both groups shared cultural expectations that women would work hard in the home and on the farm while maintaining a low public profile.<sup>56</sup> Their children attended school together, and Japanese families hired Mexican American workers to labor on their farms. In day-to-day farm life, a knowledge of Spanish as a second language (after Japanese) was more valuable than a knowledge of English.<sup>57</sup> Thus, even as nativist discourse dominated in the local press, individual Japanese families could find acceptance among working-class Mexicans and Mexican Americans—others whose class and ethnic status designated them as marginally American.

### From agitation to amendment: Discrimination becomes law

Although New Mexico's political parties were in flux in the 1920s, Spanish-speaking voters still constituted a formidable voting bloc. The "native son" movement helped a Hispano gubernatorial candidate, Ezequiel Cabeza de Baca, to defeat an Anglo, Holm Bursum, in the state's second gubernatorial race in 1916.<sup>58</sup> Another Hispano governor, Octaviano Ambrosio Larrazolo, followed soon after. Political candidates continued to acknowledge this voting bloc's importance by generating election materials in Spanish as well as English.<sup>59</sup>

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55. Toshi Yabumoto Nakayama, oral history interview (1997), RG 97-152, Rio Grande Collection, 152, 186. On theories of assimilation among Japanese immigrants, see Ichioka, *The Issei*, 185–188, and Eiichiro Azuma, *Between Two Empires: Race, History, and Transnationalism in Japanese America* (New York, 2005), 52–56.

56. Meyer, *Speaking for Themselves*, 134; Mora, *Border Dilemmas*, 159.

57. Nakayama interview, 136.

58. Meyer, *Speaking for Themselves*, 174; Gonzales and Massman, "Loyalty Questioned," 660.

59. Meyer, *Speaking for Themselves*, 124; "Butte Elephant Wounded but Still in the Ring," and "Holt Campaign Committee," in folder 8, box 7, Political Materials 1922-51, MS 061, H. B. Holt Papers, Rio Grande Collection.

In January 1921, after a tumultuous Republican caucus that unseated Larrazolo from the ticket, Merritt Mechem was elected. Mechem's election had seen considerable backroom politicking. Power broker Bursum hoped that President Warren G. Harding would appoint New Mexico's Republican senator, Albert Fall, to his cabinet, thus opening up a senatorial slot that Bursum could fill.<sup>60</sup> Governor Larrazolo's ouster from the ticket split the state's politically engaged Spanish-speaking population into those who supported and those who opposed Bursum's Republican "old guard." The editor of *La Voz del Pueblo* railed that the "caciques" had executed a power grab:

Despite the many brazen things that the great chiefs of republicanism have done up to the present day, we have never before seen in a Republican convention the snatching away from a candidate of a nomination in so decidedly iniquitous a manner as that by which, by the hand and grace of the corporations, Bursum, Ed. Otero, Sec. Romero and "Sus" Romero, took from Governor Larrazolo the renomination of the convention this week in Albuquerque.<sup>61</sup>

The editor also alleged that Bursum's publicists had presented Larrazolo as a foreigner, when in fact Larrazolo, although born in Mexico, was "a true American citizen, as American as those called native Americans."<sup>62</sup>

Although Hispano and Anglo American power brokers jockeyed for advantage at the state level, outside influences portrayed the prospect of excluding Japanese as beneficial to both communities. Valentine Stuart McClatchy, son of the editor of the *Sacramento Bee* and leader of the Japanese Exclusion League of California, bargaged Governor Mechem with anti-Japanese propaganda and requests to join other states that had passed exclusionary legislation. John M. Hawkins, chair of the state's Republican Party, also lobbied Mechem: "Asiatec [*sic*] settlers in our valleys would be very harmful

60. "El Porqué de la Derrota del Gobernador Larrazolo en la Última Convención Republicana," *La Voz del Pueblo* (Las Vegas, N.M.), Sept. 25, 1920, p. 1.

61. "A pesar de las muchas cosas descaradas que hasta el presente han hecho los grandes caciques del republicanismo, nunca se había visto en una convención republicana que se le arrebatara a ningún candidato una nominación de una manera tan soberanamente inicua como el modo en que Bursum, Ed. Otero, Sec. Romero y "Sus" Romero, por obra y gracia de las grandes corporaciones, quitaron al gobernador Larrazolo la re nominación en la convención de esta semana en Albuquerque." This and subsequent translations from Spanish by author. "La Farsa Mas Grande de La Historia del Estado Fue la Última Convención Republicana," in *ibid.*, Sept. 11, 1920, p. 4.

62. "El Pueblo de NM se Rebela Contra los Caciques," in *ibid.*, Oct. 2, 1920, p. 1.

to the state, in the long run, injure the native labor and prevent settlement by Americans. . . . It is necessary to prevent native born Jap children being used to acquire lands through guardians and trustee corporations. They are being bred here to serve that purpose." Faced with other states' Alien Land Laws, Mechem portrayed exclusionary legislation as self-defense: "California is making a great fight against Japanese immigration and I believe all of us who have read about what is being done there are in full sympathy with the State of California and believe they will be successful; in which case, unless we adopt some such amendment as No. 2, we will be inundated by Japanese farmers because they take to the irrigated sections of the country."<sup>63</sup>

Both the New Mexico House of Representatives and Senate took up the issue of Japanese landownership. In the House, an Anglo and a Hispano representative from Taos, Philip V. Dieckman and José Urbano Ortega, together proposed the first version of an Alien Land Act for New Mexico, specifically designating Japanese immigrants as the group ineligible to own land. Their resolution, which failed in committee, directed that "Aliens, excluding subjects of the Japanese Empire and its possessions, unless provided by treaty, eligible to citizenship of the United States of America may enjoy the right to acquire, possess, enjoy and transfer real property, either personally, by agent, or equity in corporate or associate bodies."<sup>64</sup> Dieckman and Ortega were careful to use language that emphasized that Mexican immigrants, eligible for citizenship, would retain the right to buy and own property in New Mexico. A second attempt at an exclusion law, again proposed by an Anglo and a Mexican American legislator working together, and this time penned by Doña Ana County's representatives, Charles Lee and Jesus Nevares,

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63. "Our New Racial Problem; Japan's Secret Policy: Her Immigrants and American Born Citizens using their position to aid Japan; and California's Race Problem" (Sacramento, Calif., 1920), and "Preliminary Skeleton Brief Prepared for the Department of State on behalf of the Japanese Exclusion League of California" (Sacramento, Calif., 1921), in folder 24, box 1, Japanese Immigration, Governor Merritt C. Mechem Papers, New Mexico State Archives; J. M. Hawkins to Governor Merritt C. Mechem, Jan. 13, 1921, folder 42, in *ibid.*; Mechem to J. M. Campbell, folder 57, box 2, General Correspondence, September–December 1922, in *ibid.* Despite its filing under 1922, this undated letter has to date from immediately before the September 1921 election, since Campbell was asking Mechem for voting advice on the 1921 amendments.

64. House Joint Resolution No. 13, Fifth Legislature, State of New Mexico (1921), New Mexico State Archives; *House Journal, Proceedings of the 5<sup>th</sup> State Legislature of the State of New Mexico, Jan 11 to March 12, 1921* (Santa Fe, 1921), 264.



*Figure 2.* Philip V. Dieckman.



*Figure 3.* José Urbano Ortega.



*Figure 4.* Charles Lee.



*Figure 5.* Jesus Nevares.

Figures 2–5 all come from the collection of the Center for Southwest Research, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque.

stated that citizens and Mexican immigrant aliens shared a right to own land: "No distinction shall be made by law between resident aliens eligible to citizenship and citizens in regard to the ownership or descent of property."<sup>65</sup> This version also failed in the Committee on Constitutional Amendments, which left no records of its discussion.

While the House of Representatives struggled to find appropriate language to limn a measure that would exclude Japanese from landholding without simultaneously excluding Mexican immigrants, in the Senate, J. E. Reinburg was more successful. The senator from Doña Ana County crafted a measure approved on a unanimous roll-call vote in an ethnically divided state senate. It read: "until otherwise provided by law no alien ineligible to citizenship under the laws of the United States, or corporation, co-partnership or association, a majority of the stock or interest in which is held by such aliens, shall acquire title, leasehold, or other interest in or real estate in New Mexico."<sup>66</sup>

Reinburg's resolution joined ten other proposed constitutional amendments on the ballot in September 1921. Should women have the right to hold public office? Should taxes be raised to build good roads throughout the state? As New Mexicans politicked for their pet projects, Scoggin, Doña Ana County's busiest anti-Japanese agitator, doubled down: "Field crops are not generally grown by Japanese in our valley," he noted. "The little brown man is too good a business man to grow them; he immediately seeks to control our best lands and our best crops. . . . Vote yourself, have your wife vote, and remind every neighbor that it is 'Anti-Jap Day' in New Mexico." The editor of the Farm Bureau's newspaper called a mass meeting at the Temple of Agriculture. "The Jap landholding amendment was born in the county through efforts of the Farm Bureau and should receive our unanimous support."<sup>67</sup>

On voting day, counties where the largest numbers of Japanese immigrants lived supported Amendment 2. McKinley County had

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65. House Joint Resolution No. 7, Fifth Legislature, State of New Mexico (1921), New Mexico State Archives; *House Journal*, 261.

66. *New Mexico State Senate Journal for 1921* (bound typescript), Serial No. 4615, F052 Legislature, New Mexico Secretary of State Records, New Mexico State Archives, 57, 69, 98; Clinton Anderson, "Radical Anti-Jap Land Law is Introduced in Legislature by Senator Reinburg of Doña Ana," *Albuquerque Morning Journal*, Jan. 22, 1921, p. 1.

67. W. T. Scoggin, "September 20 Anti-Jap Day in New Mexico," *Organized Farming*, Sept. 1921, p. 11; "Editorial," in *ibid.*, Aug. 1921, p. 12.

the largest number of Issei (eighty-four, according to the 1920 census). Japanese in Gallup, McKinley's county seat, had tried to propitiate their neighbors.<sup>68</sup> They spent their own funds on Fourth of July fireworks for the town and staged a popular fencing exhibition. In June 1921, Gallup's Japanese residents created a local chapter of the Japanese Association of America, the "Sun and Stars Society," vowing publicly to organize Japanese migrants to support American concerns.<sup>69</sup> Despite these expressions of goodwill, 82 percent of McKinley County voters voted to exclude ineligible aliens from landholding in New Mexico. Other strongholds of Amendment 2 sentiment included Colfax County, home to sixty-one Issei and their families, and Grant County, where nineteen resided. In Doña Ana County, home of the original impulse behind the legislation, the percentages were not quite as lopsided, but it still passed by a respectable margin, with 59 percent of the population favoring the amendment.

Amendment 2 could not have passed without the assent of large numbers of Nuevomexicano voters, suggesting that the exclusion of Japanese from landholding was popular to both Hispano and Anglo voters. This is not particularly surprising, given Hispano New Mexicans' long attachment to the land and its cultural significance.<sup>70</sup> The 1930 census is the only roughly contemporary census in which Hispanics were not enumerated as white but rather as "Mexicans" under the category "other races." Using the census as a proxy for ethnicity is vexed; "Mexicans" were those who were born in Mexico, whose parents were born in Mexico, or who clearly did not "look white." Thus, by definition, northern New Mexico counties with Spanish-heritage majorities descended from American-born parents were recorded as having vanishingly small numbers of "Mexicans."<sup>71</sup> Nonetheless, as the appendices show, some counties with large

68. According to Eiichiro Azuma, Japanese Associations were extremely invested in assimilation in the years leading up to the 1924 immigration law revision. See Azuma, *Between Two Empires*, 52–56.

69. "Celebration on July 4 5 6 to be the Greatest Held in Years," *Gallup Independent*, June 12, 1919, p. 1. "Sun and Stars Elect Officers," in *ibid.*, Jan. 19, 1922, p. 1.

70. See, for example, Guadalupe T. Luna, "Beyond/Between Colors: On the Complexities of Race: The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and *Dred Scott v. Sandford*," *University of Miami Law Review*, 53 (1999), 691–716.

71. Enumerators not only had great discretion in classification, but also those whose parents had been born in New Mexico after 1848 should not have been enumerated as "Mexican" no matter how they appeared to the enumerators. See Neil Foley, "Becoming Hispanic: Mexican Americans and Whiteness," in Paula S. Rothenberg, ed., *White Privilege: Essential Readings on the Other Side of Racism* (New York, 2007), 55–65. See also Terrence

proportions of those designated as “other races” in the 1930 census voted in favor of Amendment 2.<sup>72</sup>

Given the animus against first-generation Japanese immigrants that swept through the American West, why did any New Mexico counties vote down Amendment 2? In Taos County, for example, 70 percent of the voters voted against the amendment, despite the fact that their own representatives had championed a similar amendment. It is impossible here to deduce a simple intention from the act of voting, since many factors can influence voter choice. For some voters, the purpose of Amendment 2—and particularly its impact on Mexican immigrants—may have remained unclear. English-language newspapers clearly conveyed that the purpose of the amendment was only to exclude Asians from landholding.<sup>73</sup> The *Albuquerque Morning Journal* recommended a “yes” vote because the amendment was “intended to anticipate and prevent an Oriental invasion.” The *Carlsbad Argus* explained that Amendment 2 “is intended to prevent Japanese and Chinese from acquiring farm lands. While we think that this danger is greatly over-estimated, it is very good policy to use preventives instead of bandages, and it will be best for the peace and welfare of the state to adopt it.” A commentator for the *Roswell Daily Record* gave a grudging endorsement, noting, “I do contend that it is the right of every sovereign people, no matter how illiberal it may be, to say who shall own land within the realm.”<sup>74</sup>

In contrast, the major Spanish-language newspapers in New Mexico tended not to explain the category “aliens ineligible for citizenship,” leaving open the question of whether Mexican immigrants were, or might later be, included in that category.<sup>75</sup> It was not an idle question: Mexican immigrants and Japanese immigrants had both been part of a 1921 deportation sweep along the border.<sup>76</sup> New

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Haverluk, “The Changing Geography of U.S. Hispanics, 1850–1990,” *Journal of Geography*, 96, no. 3 (1997), 134–145.

72. Of the nine New Mexico counties that would go on to have Hispanic majorities in 2000, four voted against Amendment 2, and five voted in favor.

73. On the issue of New Mexico voter lack of interest in amendments, see Richard M. Folmar, *Piecemeal Amendment of the Constitution of New Mexico, 1911 to 2004* (Santa Fe, 2005), 20.

74. “The Journal’s Recommendations,” *Albuquerque Journal*, Sept. 12, 1921, p. 1; “The Amendments,” *Carlsbad Argus*, Sept. 2, 1921, p. 2; Judge Bernard Rodey, in *Roswell Daily Record*, Aug. 15, 1921, p. 1. The same editorial ran in the *Gallup Independent*, Aug. 4, 1921, p. 1.

75. See, for example, “El Mensaje del Gobernador a la Legislatura del Estado,” *La Voz del Pueblo*, Jan. 15, 1921, p. 1.

76. “Roundup of Orientals is Planned,” *Albuquerque Journal*, Jan. 13, 1921, p. 1.

Mexico's major Spanish-language newspapers all ran the same editorial, advising voters to vote "no" on any amendment that they did not understand. The editorial explained three of the amendments, but Amendment 2 was not among them.<sup>77</sup> After the vote, the editors of one of the Spanish-language newspapers belatedly explained that the amendment was aimed at Asians rather than at immigrants from Mexico: "Amendments [*sic*] number 2, prohibiting aliens ineligible to citizenship to obtain titles to land in New Mexico, for 25,825 votes, against 18,110 . . . neither the Chinese nor the Japanese will be able to obtain land by purchase or otherwise in this state."<sup>78</sup> The editor of *La Estrella* of Las Cruces noted after the vote that "this law will have no effect on those foreigners who can, if they wish, apply for and obtain U.S. citizenship; and it is not necessary that an individual solicit U.S. citizenship to stop the law from applying to him. In other words, this law has been proposed expressly to prevent Asian immigration to the state, and its effects do not reach Mexican citizens, as was believed initially."<sup>79</sup> If Amendment 2 was confusing to the purveyors of the news, it was probably more confusing still to any New Mexicans who received their news through the grapevine of public discussion.

The vote also occurred within the context of a split in the Republican Party that allowed Democratic fortunes to rise. High stakes increased the potential for voter fraud. The *Nuevo Mexicano* alleged that women (who had recently been enfranchised) had been trucked to the polls and told how to vote, without having received any literature on candidates or amendments:

Hundreds of women refused to take the constitutional amendments, saying they did not understand any of it, but proponents of the amendments filled

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77. "Si Ud. No Comprende Qualquiera de las Enmiendas que Serán Votadas el 20 de Septiembre, vote 'no,'" *La Bandera Americana* (Albuquerque), Sept. 16, 1921, p. 1; *La Estrella* (Las Cruces), Sept. 17, 1921, p. 1. Santa Fe's *Nuevo Mexicano* reported on the original proposal to exclude Japanese, however. See "El Mensaje del Gobernador a La Legislatura del Estado," *Nuevo Mexicano*, Jan. 13, 1921, p. 1.

78. "Enmiendas [*sic*] no 2, prohibiendo a extranjeros inelegibles a ciudadanía de poder obtener títulos a terrenos en Nuevo México, a favor 25,825 votos, en contra 18,110. . . ni los Chinos ni los Japoneses podrán obtener terrenos por compra o de otra manera en este estado." "El Resultado de las Enmiendas," *La Bandera Americana*, Oct. 7, 1921, p. 2.

79. "Esta ley no afectara en nada a aquellos extranjeros que puedan, si lo desean, solicitar y obtener la ciudadanía Americana; no siendo, sin embargo, necesario que se solicite la ciudadanía Americana, para quedar a salvo de esa ley del individuo. En otras palabras: esta ley ha sido propuesta, expresamente para impedir la inmigración asiática en el estado, no alcanzado a los ciudadanos Mexicanos, sus efectos, como se creía en el principio." "La Republica y la Constitución," *La Estrella*, Sept. 24, 1921, p. 1.

them out and had the women vote for them. Many ladies threw the amendments on the floor out of disinterest. What impudence and shame for a civilized people like that of New Mexico!<sup>80</sup>

Of course, the editors of the *Nuevo Mexicano* may have spread stories of voter apathy and voter fraud in order to explain electoral losses, but, as historian Richard Lowitt pointed out, New Mexico politics in the 1920s was rife with voting irregularities.<sup>81</sup>

Despite the “no” votes of a majority of voters in eight of New Mexico’s thirty-one counties, the general sentiments of the voting population were clear. Amendment 2 was approved in the 1921 general election, with 25,931 votes in favor and 18,842 against.<sup>82</sup> The Alien Land Act became Section 22 of Article 2 of the New Mexico State Constitution.<sup>83</sup>

### After the Alien Land Act

The Alien Land Act did not solve the problems of Mesilla Valley’s cantaloupe farmers. Although farmers refused to ship cantaloupes until they were assured a reasonable profit, distributors ignored their boycott and began to sign up Japanese growers for the following year.<sup>84</sup> Ultimately, economic pressure pushed some Japanese families out of New Mexico. The cantaloupe boom of the early 1920s faded, and cotton emerged as the staple crop, removing the advantage that Japanese had had in locating there.<sup>85</sup> By the late 1920s, some advocates of Japanese exclusion from landholding

80. “Centenares de mujeres rehusaron tomar las enmiendas constitucionales diciendo que no entendían nada de eso, pero los que estaban interesados en las enmiendas se las componían y las hacían que las votaran. Muchas señoras tiraron las enmiendas en el suelo como la cosa más insignificante para ellas. Que descaro y que vergüenza para un pueblo civilizado como el de Nuevo México!” Editorial, *Nuevo Mexicano*, Sept. 29, 1921, p. 2.

81. Lowitt, “Bronson Cutting,” 152.

82. See Appendices 1, 2, and 3 for more detail on voting patterns.

83. The information for the table and chart was aggregated from *Bulletin, Fourteenth Census of the United States* (Washington, D.C., 1920), New Mexico, Table 7, p. 5, online at [www2.census.gov/prod2/decennial/documents/4108456no554ch5.pdf](http://www2.census.gov/prod2/decennial/documents/4108456no554ch5.pdf), accessed May 30, 2012, “Amendment Table,” *Carlsbad Argus*, Oct. 7, 1921, p. 2; and New Mexico, Table 14, *Bulletin, Fifteenth Census of the United States* (Washington, D.C., 1930), online at [www2.census.gov/prod2/decennial/documents/10612982v3p2\\_TOC.pdf](http://www2.census.gov/prod2/decennial/documents/10612982v3p2_TOC.pdf), accessed Nov. 12, 2012.

84. “Growers Should Sign Now,” *Organized Farming*, Nov. 1921, p. 1.

85. Iwata, *Planted in Good Soil*, 2: 707. In Arizona, the anti-Japanese movement continued and became violent in the 1930s. See Susie Sato, “Before Pearl Harbor: Early Japanese Settlers in Arizona,” *Journal of Arizona History* 14 (1973), 317–334; Jack August,

extended their argument to argue that Mexican Americans be excluded from U.S. citizenship, on the grounds that they, like Japanese, were non-white.<sup>86</sup>

Those Japanese American families that did not disappear became local fixtures. Census takers in 1920 recorded the presence of 200 Issei in New Mexico; by 1930 the number of Issei had decreased to 108. But while census takers in 1920 had recorded forty-five people of Japanese descent or married to Japanese men in the Mesilla Valley, by 1930 that number had increased to sixty-nine, of whom forty-one were Nisei.<sup>87</sup> Roy Nakayama, one of eight children in a founding Japanese family in the region, became a professor of horticulture at New Mexico State University and developed the Big Jim green chilies that became emblematic of southern New Mexico agriculture.<sup>88</sup>

The Alien Land Act may have had a limited demographic effect, but it inflicted a potent expressive harm, classifying an entire ethnic group as suspect. New Mexico's Alien Land Act was part of a larger national process that suggested that even American-born Japanese were less than citizens.<sup>89</sup> The fact that Japanese Americans were incarcerated during World War II, despite evidence of individual loyalty, testifies to this marginalization. During war-time internments, American-born Japanese were forced to fill out a "loyalty questionnaire," which many of them interpreted as a prelude to eventual deportation; Issei in the camps were asked to swear loyalty to the United States, despite the fact that they were still barred from

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"The Anti-Japanese Crusade in Arizona's Salt River Valley, 1934-5," *Arizona and the West*, 21, no. 2 (1979), 113-136.

86. Calderón-Zaks, "Debated Whiteness," 343; Natalia Molina, "'In a Race All Their Own': The Quest to Make Mexicans Ineligible for U.S. Citizenship," *Pacific Historical Review*, 79 (2010), 167-201.

87. Figures for the state as a whole were generated by using the Federal Census databases available online at [www.ancestry.com](http://www.ancestry.com), with "Japan" in the "birthplace" field and "New Mexico" in the "lived in" field. For Doña Ana County, this method was used in order to find Issei; then they and their family members and spouses were collected in a database using the census enumeration sheets for the 1920 and 1930 censuses.

88. Iwata, *Planted in Good Soil*, 2: 706.

89. The term "expressive harm" denotes harm accomplished through speech that singles out an ethnic or other group; see Paul Bou-Habib, "Racial Profiling and Background Injustice," *Journal of Ethics: An International Philosophical Review*, 15 (2011), 33-46. As Yuji Ichioka noted, between 1920 and 1923, Congress discussed plans to strip Nisei of their citizenship, and the Cable Act (1922) stripped citizenship from any woman who married an alien ineligible for citizenship. See Ichioka, *The Issei*, 253.

citizenship. The treatment that Japanese received led thousands in the camps to renounce their U.S. citizenship.<sup>90</sup>

Discriminatory actions by the government of New Mexico during World War II logically followed from the New Mexico Constitution's relegation of Japanese to a separate and unequal category. Japanese railway workers who had lived and worked in Clovis without incident for twenty years were expelled from their homes and isolated in Lincoln County.<sup>91</sup> In reaction to a Nisei group's proposal to purchase 7,000 acres of land in northern New Mexico, the state's governor, John Miles, instructed his Attorney General, Edward Chase, to threaten a lawsuit to overturn the notion that American-born Japanese deserved birthright citizenship.<sup>92</sup>

In the Mesilla Valley, Toshi Yabumoto Nakayama's neighbors gossiped that her family had put lights on their barn to guide the Japanese air force to Fort Bliss.<sup>93</sup> When a Las Cruces realtor sold land to a Japanese American woman who had lived in the Mesilla Valley for the previous twenty years, farmers and ranchers met at the Doña Ana County courthouse to block land in the valley from being sold to Japanese. They passed a series of resolutions accusing Japanese aliens of sabotaging the Alien Land Act by buying land in the names of their American-born children.<sup>94</sup>

Procedurally, New Mexico's Alien Land Act became a moot point for Issei in 1952, when the McCarran-Walter Act altered the immigration laws so that the category of "alien ineligible for citizenship" no longer applied to Asians as a class.<sup>95</sup> But even after 1952, Section 22 of Article 2 remained in New Mexico's state constitution—not due to

90. Saito, "Alien and Non-Alien Alike," 275; Ngai, *Impossible Subjects*, 183, 198–200.

91. John J. Culley, "World War II and a Western Town: The Internment of the Japanese Railroad Workers of Clovis, New Mexico," *Western Historical Quarterly*, 13 (1982), 43–61.

92. Governor John Miles to Attorney General Edward Chase, April 29, 1942, in folder 341, box 10, Proposed Japanese Relocation colony at Maxwell, New Mexico, Governor John Miles Papers, New Mexico State Archive. See also Suzanne Stamatov, "Japanese-American Internment Camps in New Mexico, 1946–1946," New Mexico Office of the State Historian, online at [www.newmexicohistory.org/filedetails.php?fileID=453](http://www.newmexicohistory.org/filedetails.php?fileID=453), accessed June 5, 2012.

93. Nakayama interview, 226.

94. "Realtor Denies Encouraging Jap Infiltration Here," *Las Cruces Sun-News*, Sept. 30, 1945, p. 1; "Movement to Ban Japs from Valley Gains Momentum," in *ibid.*, Sept. 23, 1945, p. 1; "Farmers to Push Anti-Jap Drive," in *ibid.*, Oct. 1, 1945, p. 1; "Farmers Ask Enforcement of Jap Land Ban," in *ibid.*, Oct. 2, 1945, p. 1.

95. Price, "Alien Land Restrictions," 208.

lingering enmity toward Japanese, but because New Mexico's founders had made the document incredibly difficult to amend. A successful amendment had to garner at least 40 percent of the votes across 40 percent of the counties, and very few amendments could reach that bar.<sup>96</sup> A state constitutional convention called in 1969 completely rewrote the constitution, taking particular umbrage at the offensive anti-Japanese measure. Despite the convention's drafting of a new Bill of Rights that would have eliminated Section 22 entirely, voters defeated the new constitution (by fewer than 4,000 votes statewide).<sup>97</sup>

Although the New Mexico legislature overrode Section 22 by statute in the 1970s, the offensive language remained in the constitution, since it could not be expunged except by a statewide vote.<sup>98</sup> The Alien Land Law Project, organized by University of Cincinnati Law School students, contacted legislators in states that still had such legislation on the books. In 2002 the New Mexico contact, Cisco McSorley, a Democratic legislator from Albuquerque, introduced Amendment 4, "proposing to repeal Article 2, Section 22, of the Constitution of New Mexico, which states that aliens cannot own land or any interest in land in the state unless otherwise provided by law." Placing repeal of the Land Law on the ballot was risky; McSorley worried that New Mexico voters might not understand the ballot language, think aliens meant "terrorists," and thus vote against it, leaving the state open to ridicule. In fact, Amendment 4 did fail, by 54 percent to 46 percent, causing widespread embarrassment that a state whose tourism department celebrated its multiculturalism could not remove an expression of racism from its constitution.<sup>99</sup>

By the 2006 general election, New Mexico was the last state to continue to bar aliens ineligible for citizenship from holding

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96. Folmar, *Piecemeal Amendment*, 5. As a result, New Mexico's constitution contains provisions that have been superseded by federal law, including a voting age of twenty-one, rather than eighteen.

97. *A New Constitution for New Mexico? An Analysis of Major Changes and Arguments For and Against* (Santa Fe, 1969), p. 4, in folder 10, Serial 722, Legislative Council Service Archive, 1971-005, New Mexico State Archive; Folmar, *Piecemeal Amendment*, 12.

98. The statute in question is Section 45-2-111 NMSA 1978.

99. Joshua Akers, "Florida Clings to Jim-Crow-Era Statute," *Associated Press*, May 16, 2002, at [modelminority.com/joomla/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=200:florida-clings-to-jim-crow-era-statute-&catid=42:law&Itemid=56](http://modelminority.com/joomla/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=200:florida-clings-to-jim-crow-era-statute-&catid=42:law&Itemid=56), accessed June 5, 2012; "N.M. Constitutional Amendments," *Albuquerque Tribune*, Oct. 2, 2002, Special Section, Candidate Guide, 4.

property. McSorley again introduced a joint resolution, this time ensuring that the amendment presented to voters would not mention “aliens.” Amendment 1 on the 2006 ballot proposed “to repeal Article 2, Section 22 of the Constitution of New Mexico, in order to protect the right of all persons to acquire and possess real property.”<sup>100</sup> Ingeniously constructed as protecting the rights of all *persons* (a category that includes citizens and aliens alike), rather than eliminating discrimination aimed at the shifting and problematic category of “aliens ineligible for citizenship,” Amendment 1 passed with 69 percent of the votes cast.<sup>101</sup>

At a time when anti-Asian sentiment was rife throughout the western United States, even in New Mexico, where questions of ethnicity and nationalism had long been contested, a constitutional amendment excluding Japanese from landholding found strong support. Advocates of anti-Japanese legislation in New Mexico described Japanese people as clannish non-Christian competitors for agricultural success and totally alien to the tenuous balance of roles that had been struck among the state’s Anglo Americans, Hispanos, and Mexican Americans. The opposition to the measure that did exist may have derived from several possible causes. Hispano New Mexicans expressed divided attitudes about whether or not New Mexico should accommodate immigrant Japanese landholders. Some worked alongside and intermarried with Japanese immigrants, while others exhibited an exclusionary nationalism through the state legislature, the press, and the American Legion. Anglo farmers, who were the motive forces behind the anti-Japanese legislation, participated in some of these modalities and in others that were more racially exclusive still, including the Farm Bureau and the Ku Klux Klan. Although the small group of Issei in New Mexico strove to balance assimilation with self-advocacy, their attempts were overshadowed by the popularity of the Alien Land Act.

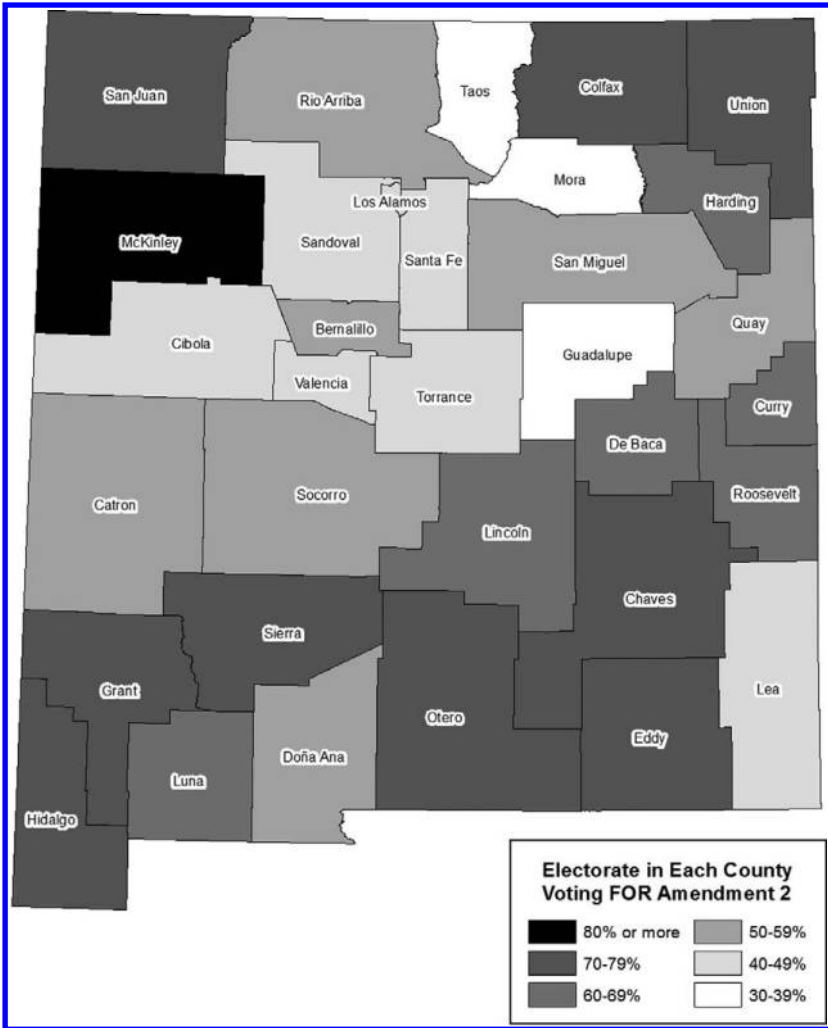
Although Japanese land cultivation had little impact in New Mexico outside the Mesilla Valley, many New Mexicans of divergent backgrounds, divided over other political issues, appear to have found compelling the stereotype that whatever “American” was taken to mean, it did not include Japanese. Relegating Issei into the category

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100. Colleen Heild and Tania Soussan, “Four Amendments on Nov. Ballot,” *Albuquerque Journal*, Oct. 9, 2006, A-1.

101. “State and Local Races,” *Santa Fe New Mexican*, Nov. 8, 2006, A-1.

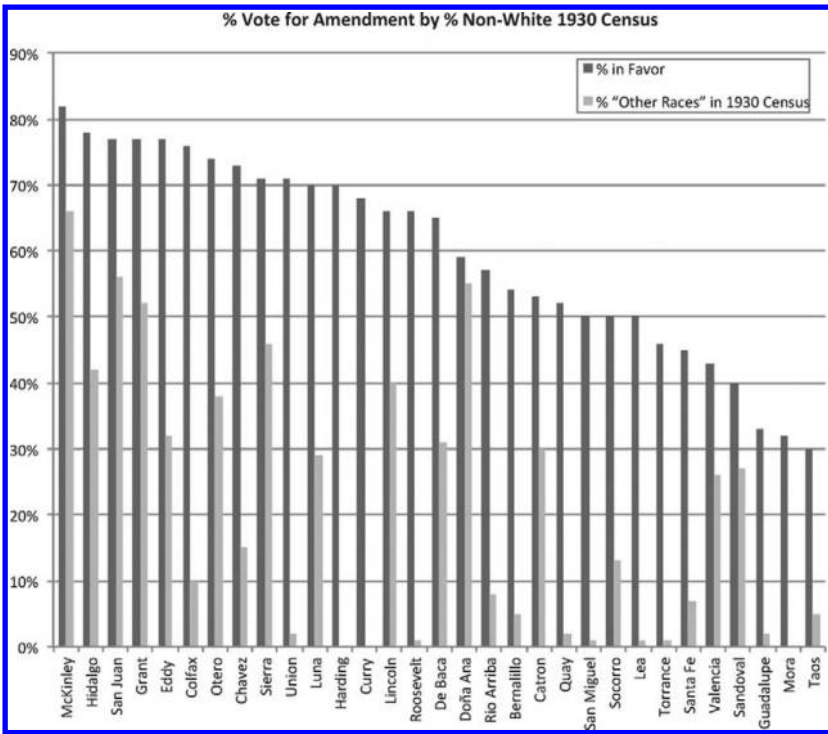
of inferior “aliens ineligible for citizenship” helped to rationalize poor treatment not only of first-generation Japanese, but also of Japanese Americans, for a long time to come.



*Appendix 1.* Map of New Mexico, showing percent of population voting for Amendment 2 by county. Map by Jacquelyn C. Ferry; used with permission.

County	Voters for Amendment 2	Voters against Amendment 2	Total Votes	Percent in Favor	Percent “Other Races” in 1930 Census	Resident Issei
McKinley	839	182	1,021	82%	66%	84
Hidalgo	292	83	375	78%	42%	1
San Juan	618	183	801	77%	56%	
Grant	1,028	308	1,336	77%	52%	19
Eddy	960	292	1,252	77%	32%	8
Colfax	1,899	601	2,500	76%	10%	61
Otero	707	249	956	74%	38%	
Chavez	1,277	473	1,750	73%	15%	
Sierra	490	197	687	71%	46%	
Union	1,235	510	1,745	71%	2%	
Luna	527	230	757	70%	29%	4
Harding	458	200	658	70%	0%	
Curry	1,235	587	1,822	68%	0%	1
Lincoln	795	405	1,200	66%	40%	1
Roosevelt	1,011	523	1,534	66%	1%	
De Baca	476	257	733	65%	31%	
Doña Ana	706	488	1,194	59%	55%	33
Rio Arriba	1,029	764	1,793	57%	8%	4
Bernalillo	2,349	2,041	4,390	54%	5%	17
Catron	170	150	320	53%	30%	
Quay	768	713	1,481	52%	2%	
San Miguel	1,782	1,760	3,542	50%	1%	
Socorro	710	710	1,420	50%	13%	5
Lea	342	346	688	50%	1%	
Torrance	551	657	1,208	46%	1%	
Santa Fe	995	1,213	2,208	45%	7%	4
Valencia	358	484	842	43%	26%	
Sandoval	231	344	575	40%	27%	
Guadalupe	379	779	1,158	33%	2%	
Mora	556	1,203	1,759	32%	0%	
Taos	523	1,238	1,761	30%	5%	
Total	25,296	18,170				

Appendix 2. Table of votes for and against Amendment 2, including percent “other races” in 1930 and number of resident Issei, by county.



*Appendix 3.* Comparison of total votes for Amendment 2 overall and by percent non-white in 1930, by county.